2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases were made only after several years of married life, as it was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed.

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair, and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony.

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers.

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth.

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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body. The small boys went naked but the girls wore a leather dress similar to those of the older women. The woman's dress was the buck-skin tunic which went just below the knee, a girdle held it at the waist, the sleeves were open and the base of the skirt was often fringed. Bead necklaces and earrings were worn, and leggings which did not reach to the knee. The men also wore leggings which were the counterpart of those found among the other plains tribes.

Although the Mandans ordinarily dressed very plainly, yet for the feasts and ceremonies they arrayed themselves as gorgeously as did any of their neighbors, and in practically the same way. Then they wore richly embroidered leather shirts, moccasins covered with quill work, necklaces of elk teeth, bears' claws, odorous roots and large glass beads, with fine painted and embroidered robes, tobacco pouches, quivers, medicine bags, and all the paraphernalia of the plains ceremonial dress. Scalps were used as among the Dakotas, ceremonial pipes and bows were carried. The head-dresses of war eagle, hawk, crow, and raven feathers were worn by members of different societies and occasionally the head-dress of two small polished pieces of buffalo horn was worn. This last was found frequently among the Dakotas. Antelope and deer hoofs were used often as a fringe of bangles along the shirt hem or the sides of the leggings.

The Mandans had a peculiar method of dressing the hair, unlike other Siouan tribes but very much like the Arikara. The hair of the men was allowed to hang down to the thighs, or even to the knees, it was separated into a number of strands, each of which was stuck along its whole length, two or three inches apart, with lumps of mixed glue and colored clay, making nearly solid plaits one and a half inches thick. Oftentimes these plaits were pieced out with beaver skin strips or hair from scalps. One lock of hair hung down forward over the nose, and this was unornamented except for a red ribbon tied about it. There were two copper strips covered with blue and white glass beads woven with the hair on the sides. These hung by one end and were also decorated with dentalia. On the back of the head was an ornament, flat, three or four inches thick, of wood or twisted metal wire. It was fastened to the hair and

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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292 575 293 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of rawhide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (ō'o kahiri' 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The [608] *cō'ta ō'xaf'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

292 575 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

Kit-Fox Society.

575 432 571 The following account of this society (ō'xox'atoc) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

575 527 432 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them.

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (mapa'caci wa'ah-ku'pe) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.[1] This officer acted as a sort of

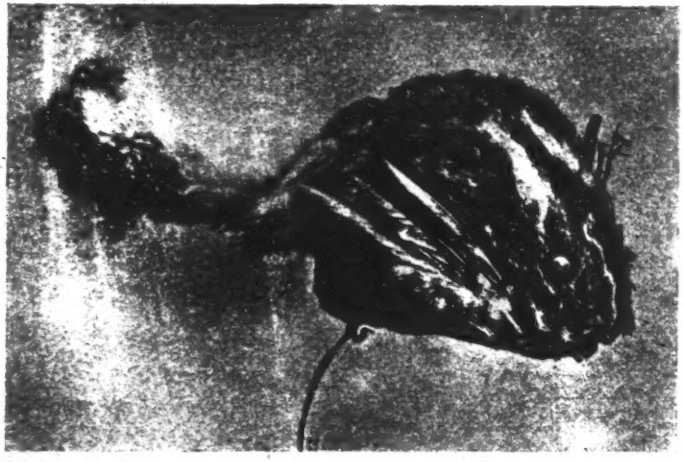

Fig. 10. (50.1–4332). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

[1] Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller.

575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves.

575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language.

575 527 535 533 [177]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used

575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights.

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to this authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outside, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on.

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa.

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances.

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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292 the war-medicine given by the father to the son at the time of the membership sale. Wounded-face says that there were four sash-wearers.

Besides the sash-wearers, there were three (Wounded-face again speaks of four) officers wearing headdresses of buffalo-skin, decorated with sections of horns and strips of weasel skins. The headgears were secured by means of neckstrings, which also served to fasten them to the stretched rope at the time of the purchase (see p. 307). To the back of the headdresses there were attached strips of rawhide, about 3½ feet in length and decorated with quillwork. Horsetails, dyed yellow, were fastened to the tops of the horns, and occasionally hawk-wings were used for decorating the headdresses.

Wounded-face is alone in speaking of two additional officers bearing lances, that were decorated at the top and center with a bunch of short raven wing-feathers. The use of a feathered string with these lances was optional.

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432 Yellow-hair mentions four drummers, each of whom gave his drum to his son at the time of the membership sale.

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527 When the purchase had been consummated after the twenty nights' entertainment, the fathers, according to Yellow-hair, passed out of the lodge, lamenting the loss of their songs,— some of them even pretending to cry. On the other hand, the purchasers began to sing and rejoice. They went outdoors, formed a circle, and sang there. After a while they returned to their lodge, followed by their wives. Supper had been prepared. The new Crazy Dogs and their wives feasted, and then went home. On the next day the fathers invited the purchasers and their wives, gave them breakfast, and presented the men with clothes and regalia and the women with dresses. In return, the sons gave horses to their fathers. After this exchange of gifts, the members frequently assembled to practise the newly acquired
[535] dance. The women never danced, but might take part in the singing. In dancing the Crazy Dogs jumped up with both feet and shook their rattles as an accompaniment to the drums. In a parade, the headdress-wearers took the lead, one marching behind the other; the sash-wearers had no fixed place.

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535 Among the Mandan of Ruhptare Maximilian found that the Crazy[1] Dogs performed the Hot dance. After a large fire had been built, a number of glowing embers were scattered about, and then the boys, stripped of all clothing, danced on them with their bare feet. The hands, forearms, and feet of the performers were colored red. Sliced meat was boiling in a kettle over the fire. When the meat had been well done, the dancers put their

[1] Maximilian writes: "Die kleinen Hunde, deren Namen man nicht kennt, führen ihn auf." The modifying clause makes it clear that he is referring to the first society of his series.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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feasted their fathers for twelve nights. My informant received a tin rattle, as his father had been one of the singers, but, having a bad voice, he gave it to another man who was a better singer. When the new members paraded about, the villagers called them by name, and said, "You Black Mouths, die soon, for you are the bravest of the societies." The members put black paint on the lower part of the face, and black stripes on the body. If a dog came near them during a parade, a Black Mouth who had shot an enemy was permitted symbolically to refer to his deed by shooting the dog.

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Bull Society.

During their dance the members of the Bull organization (mēro'k ō'xat'e) wore, according to Maximilian, the upper part of the skin of a buffalo head with the horns and the long hairs of the neck. Two men, the bravest of all and pledged never to retreat from an enemy, wore together with the horns a complete representation of a buffalo head; this mask was provided with artificial eyeslits, surrounded by iron or tin rings. One woman attendant walked about during the dance, offering to the two mask-wearers water from a bowl. This woman was clad in a fine new suit of bighorn skin, and her face was painted with vermilion. The Bulls were the only society to use wooden whistles. They had a piece of red cloth fastened to the back, as well as the representation of a buffalo tail, and carried weapons in their hands. The two mask-wearers kept on the outside of the other dancers, and imitated the voice and actions of bulls, their shy wheeling over towards one side, their manner of looking about in all directions, etc. During the performance of the Bull dance witnessed by the Prince, there were nine dancers, who discharged their guns immediately on entering the Fort. Only one of them wore the complete buffalo head, the rest wore pieces of the skin of the forehead, a pair of cloth sashes, and an appendix decorated with feathers, which represented the tail; they carried shields decorated with red cloth, and long, beautifully ornamented lances.[1] A reproduction of Bodmer's drawing of the Bull dance in Maximilian's Atlas is presented in Fig. 12.

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Wounded-face had heard that long ago a Mandan, who had a buffalo front leg in place of one arm, founded the Bull society. My informant said that only a few wore the piece of buffalo head skin with horns, some others merely dressed their hair in bunches in front. Still others covered their face with a mask, formed by fastening a tanned skin painted yellow over the

[1] Maximilian, II, 315.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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buffalo skin, the hair of which, however, was exposed from the wearer's forehead down to his chin. The spears carried were not very long, and the head pointed downwards. Shields rested on the left arm. Members who had struck enemies, carried guns; if they had used arrows to kill a foe, they carried arrows. Wounds received in battle were symbolized by red body paint. While dancing in the village, the Bulls jumped around. They pointed spears and guns at anyone approaching them, and thereby frightened young people. Those who had slain enemies enacted their martial deeds. For music they used a *large* drum.

Calf-woman remembered seeing six women known as "Bull women" at a Bull performance; they sat behind the men singers. A woman brought in water, but only such members as had saved a woman's life were permitted to drink of it. This informant also remembers one of the mask-wearers pretending to spear people, and frightening the children, jumping up with both legs, and stamping one foot at a time.

The Bull dance described by Boller was not connected with the Bull society, but formed part of the Okipe as is obvious from comparison with Maximilian's and Catlin's accounts of this ceremony.[1]

Dog[1] Society.

Maximilian describes the emblem of the society as a stick a foot or a foot and a half in length, which was ornamented with blue and white beads, and to which a large number of animal hoofs were attached. To the front of the stick there was tied an eagle feather, to the lower extremity a piece of beaded leather. The members wore a large cap of colored cloth, to which were attached a great number of raven, magpie, and owl feathers, and which was further decorated with colored horsehair and weasel skins. Their whistle was large, and made from the wing bone of a swan. Three of them wore in the back sashes of red cloth similar to those of the Crazy Dog society. A bunch of owl, raven, or magpie feathers — and frequently a combination of all three — was attached to the head so as to hang down in the back. The three officers referred to were regarded as Real Dogs. People would throw a piece of meat into the ashes of a fire, or on the ground, and say, "You Dog, eat!" Then they were obliged to fall foul of it and to devour it like dogs or beasts of prey.

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[1] Boller, 102–105; Maximilian, II, 174, 178; Catlin, I, 164 f.

[2] The native name is mini's ō'xatoc. What was said above (p. 306) as to the translation of the word *mini's* applies in this case also. The equivalence of the Hidatsa Dog society cannot be doubted, and Maximilian's rendering of the Mandan name supports this view.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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A dance of the "Dog society" of Ruptare village that was witnessed by Bodmer is described by Maximilian. After a performance in their lodge, the members, twenty-seven or twenty-eight in number, advanced towards the Fort. Some were clad in beautiful robes or bighorn-skin shirts, others in red cloth shirts, or blue and red uniforms. Some exposed the upper part of their body, on which coups were indicated in reddish-brown paint. In this connection the Prince speaks of *four* Real Dogs, all wearing huge bonnets of raven or magpie feathers, tipped with small white plumes, while in the center there was a fan of the tail feathers of a wild turkey or eagle. Round the neck each of these officers wore a long strip of red cloth, which extended down the back as far as the calves and was knotted in the middle of the back. Two additional officers wore similarly colossal bonnets of yellowish owl feathers, with dark oblique stripes, and one had a large, horned war-bonnet with a feathered streamer hanging down in the back. All others were ornamented with a bunch of thickly-set raven, magpie, or owl feathers, which was considered emblematic of the society. All members wore long whistles, and carried in their left arm some weapon, while the hoof rattle was held in the right hand. A circle was formed. In the center [534] there was a large drum, which was beaten by five poorly clad musicians; in addition to these men, who were seated, two drummers stood on the side, beating hand-drums. After whistling in their places in accompaniment to the rapid and violent beats of the drum, the Dogs suddenly began to dance, dropping their robes to the ground. Several of them danced in the middle of the circle, leaning their bodies forward, jumping up some distance with both feet and coming down firmly on the ground. The other Indians danced without any attention to orderly arrangement, crowding one another, turning their faces towards the circle, and occasionally joining in lowering the head and upper part of the body.[1]

575 534 292 301

Wounded-face says that the rattle (wĭ'o oxerō're) consisted of a stick covered with buckskin, to which the hoofs of young buffalo were attached. There were two men with sashes, which were half green and half yellow, and which were decorated with feathers. The skin cap had magpie feathers tied to it in a large bunch, and a white plume was fastened to every feather. Two eagle feathers, together with owl feathers, were also used for a head ornament. A large whistle was suspended from a wide strip of skin decorated with quillwork. The body was painted red. All the members carried the hoof-rattles, and sometimes they beat a drum or a log with them. All the Dogs were portly old men, slow in their dancing. Wounded-face thinks the society originated with the Hidatsa.

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[1] Maximilian, II. 309–311.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Old Dog Society.[1]

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

Coarse Hair Society.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (bacā'ca ŏ'xat'e) from his grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to Maximilian's As-Cho'h-O'chatā (Ascho'-O'chatā). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen members of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

[1] minis' xixe' ŏ'xat'e.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member
292 carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete
535 swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The
[293] members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

575 All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of
561 the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants
301 cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a
554 wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

575 Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek,
773 near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Hairy-coat said that the Enemy Women society was originated among the Hidatsa by Itsi'kawā'hiric, the mythical hero. This informant also sang the two following songs as belonging to the society:—

(a)

mi'racē'ruc	batsē'	waki'rits,	hi'ro	hūts.
I myself	a man	I look for,	here	he comes.

(b)

Màkooxpa',	na'kirac	ī'ru	mi	i'katà'ruc,	hiri'ts
Woman friend,	your husband	fixedly (?)	me	he looks at,	he did it.

na'cirihitō'k?
Will you throw him away?

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M
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Goose Society.

Hides-and-eats joined the Goose society (mi'ra i'ke') when she was about 30 years of age. Calf-woman gives the same for the members' average age, though she herself joined at 13, there being two young girls in the organization. Hides-and-eats said there was always *one* young member; in her day it was Calf-woman. The Goose women would cast about for a girl well beloved by her parents, and when they found one tried to make the parents consent to her adoption into the society; thus Calf-woman was adopted, and her parents paid a large amount of property for the privilege. Calf-woman herself said that she had been selected by Bells-look-round, one of the male singers, who also served as musician for the White Buffalo Women society. Calf-woman's father paid a great deal of calico and other property to the society. As a badge Calf-woman, as well as the other young member, received a head band of a duck skin with the bill (see Fig. 14), while the older members all wore narrow head bands of goose skin. The normal method of entering the society was for the entire River Women society to buy in a body the regalia and other appurtenances of the Goose society.

Fig. 14 (50.1–4360). Duckskin Head Band of Goose Society. Length, 54 cm.

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4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 773 539 delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. Kĭnumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kĭnumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized

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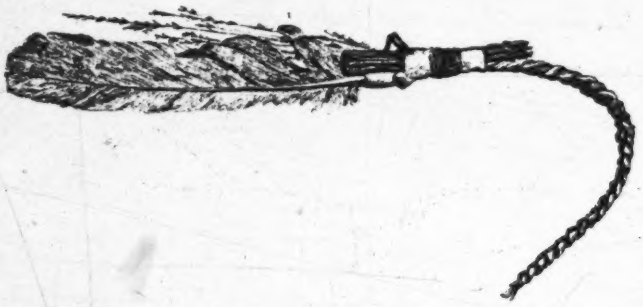

Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

575 773 301 Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

575 432 One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

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[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.
[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser.

The Hidatsa derived this society from the Mandan, but did not consider it so sacred as the Mandan did. Thus, as stated above, the Mandan rule was that women must not sleep with their husbands but must remain in the dance lodge during the four nights of the dance. Among the Hidatsa only the unmarried members regularly stayed in the dance lodge overnight. The married women went home, unless their husbands consented to let them follow the Mandan regulation.

Although Buffalo-bird-woman denied that the dance was regarded as sacred by her people, two features seem to have a religious character. In the first place, the annual performance took place after someone having had a dream to that effect had given a feast to the organization. Secondly, the performance closed with the ceremonial sweating and cleansing. The women took off their grass head bands, removed the feathers from them, piled up the crowns on the top of the sweat lodge, and went in to sweat, a few at a time. Then a man approached, holding in his hand some sage-brush with which he brushed off the sweat lodge, singing a song. All the women rose and faced him, and he brushed off the women, one by one, singing a song for each member. This power, my informant imagined, had been acquired by purchase.

Cheyenne[1] Women Society.

Young-beaver who had entered the River Women society when not quite 20, bought the Cheyenne Women membership, with some thirty of her comrades, at the age of a little over 30. She still considers herself a member of the Cheyenne Women society.

The name of this organization (cō′ota mī ō′xat'e) indicates the source from which it is said to have been derived by the Mandan. Buffalo-bird-woman said that she first heard of the society about 56 years ago (1911), and that she joined as the only Hidatsa woman, her father having been asked for his consent. Any member who chose might assume men's garb. Some dressed like the Dakota, tying their front braids with otterskin, while others affected the long switches of the Crow. From two to four male singers were also chosen. At a dance of the organization a man carrying an eagle feather fan acted as leader, followed by the women in single file. At the intonation of a certain song, the leader held his fan close to his face,

[1] One interpreter translated the native word "Sioux."

4: Lowie [illegible] 910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

The White Buffalo Cow society (pti'take ō'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin. Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

[1] Ibid., 283–284, 297.
[2] Catlin, I, 127–128.
[3] Boller, 218–219.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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Fig. 16. White Buffalo Cow Women. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I will now present my own field notes concerning this society. 575

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. 432
Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose 535
parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave 'Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered 575
an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a 527
red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a 292
corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer donned a *coarse*-haired robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). A buffalo cow skull had been [778]
placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *ûtûre* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle 575
officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they 527
met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned 535
to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17).

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance.

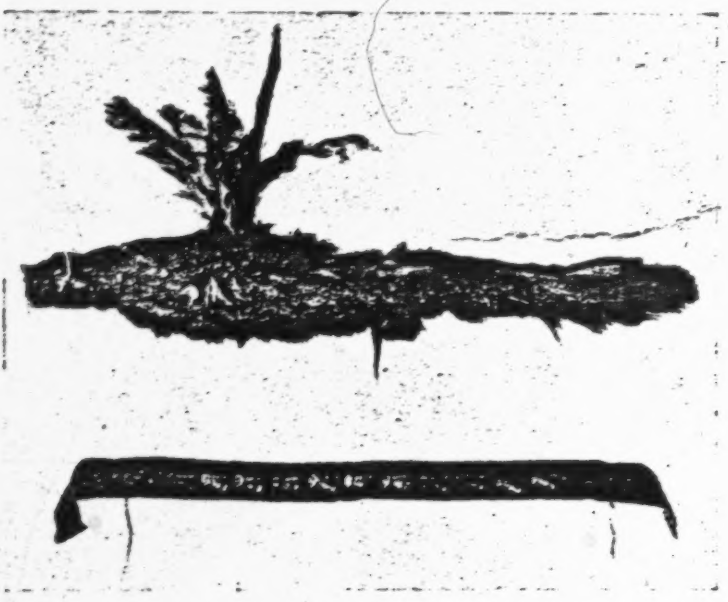


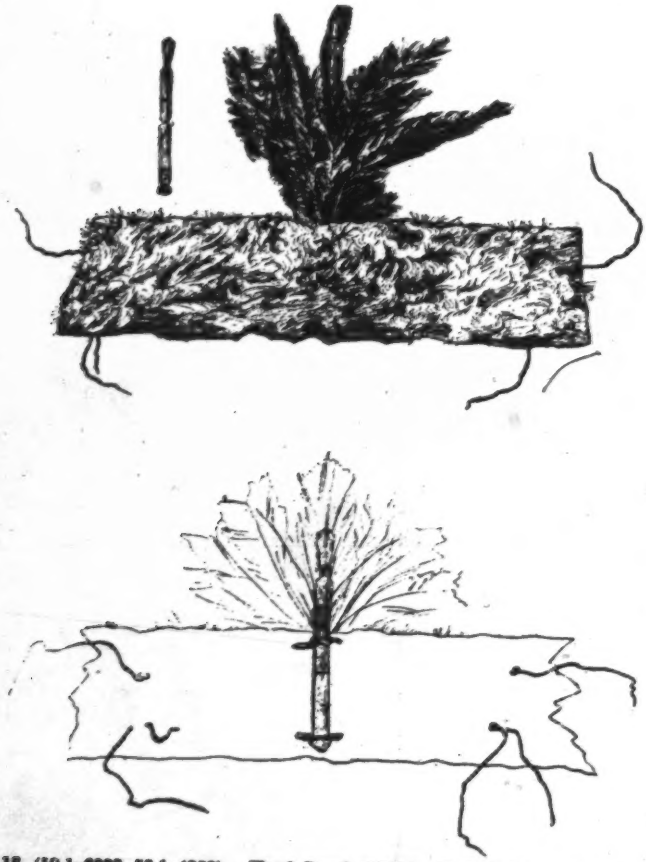
Fig. 17 (50.1–4815, 50.1–4331). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 85 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

M H 575 527

on the nose of the rear officer's skin robe. She did the same with the leader's robe, then she walked back to her place and went through the same performance with her own robe. This procedure which was regarded as an offering to the robes was called *ō'zkipati*. It was repeated three times. At the last song the incense-burner went to the rear officer, and untied her



M H [294]

Fig. 18. (50.1–6020, 50.1–4350). Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society, front and back view. Length, 62 cm.

robe, causing it to drop to the ground. She proceeded to the middle officer, and thence to the leader, untying all the robes. This dropping of the robes symbolized the shedding of the buffaloes' hair.

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Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase might

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4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

M H Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase
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575 give a feast to the society and make offerings. Buffalo-bird-woman re-
789 membered one instance when a white man made offerings to the buffalo spirits before a hunt. He gave the society a butcher knife and other property and thus addressed them: "You, Buffalo women, I give offerings to you. I will give you a butcher knife when you cross in the dance. I wish
M H to save all these men from getting injured and I desire to get all the meat."

The Museum owns several White Buffalo headdresses actually used by
575 members and collected by Rev. Wilson and the present writer. One of
292 these is represented in Fig. 18, together with the small notched wooden feather-straightener. In the skunkskin head band (Fig. 17) the feathers are attached in similar fashion.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Numank-Machana, the first man, ordered the Numangkake to celebrate this medicine feast every year. When the village has fixed the time for this festivity, they choose a man of distinction, in whom confidence can be placed, who must put himself at the head, and direct the solemnities. In the year 1834 Mato-Topé was chosen. He is called Kani-Sachka. This man then causes the medicine lodge to be prepared and cleaned before the appointed time, and wood and other necessaries to be provided. 796

First day of the Okippe.—At sunset the Kani-Sachka goes into the lodge, and begins the fast, which continues four days. With him are six men, who are to strike what is called the tortoise, a vessel or sack made of parchment, and filled with water. Three of the men must strike in the direction of the river downwards, and three in the direction upwards. They strike the tortoise during the whole night. Before sunrise a man representing the Numank-Machana, or the first man, arrives. He dresses himself in the medicine lodge in the following manner: round his body he fastens a wolf's skin, on his head, raven's feathers, in his arms he carries the medicine pipe, and in his robe a portion of pemmican. His face is painted red, and on the small of the back he binds a piece of wood, to which the tail of a buffalo cow is fastened. Dressed in this manner, he goes early in the morning of the first day of the festival, and sings on the open space in the centre. All kinds of valuable articles, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., are thrown towards him, of which he afterwards takes possession, while on his part he distributes pemmican among the people. He then returns to the medicine lodge, but is not at that time permitted to speak a word. The most eminent men of the nation now come to the lodge, address the first man as their uncle, and say, "Well, uncle, how did you fare in the villages? How did you find them? Were you well received?" To which he replies, "Very well, nephew. I have not once lowered my pipe to the ground." By which he means to say that he has received ample presents, and offerings of all kinds have been hung upon his pipe. He then says, "I have seen a great many buffaloes feeding in the prairie and drinking at the river; they are very abundant everywhere." These were the horses; but he means to intimate that, by the medicine of this day, the buffaloes will be attracted in great numbers. All those who intend to submit their bodies to a penance or certain tortures, in order to render themselves acceptable to the lord of life and the first man, come to the medicine lodge early in the morning. Their number is, of course, uncertain; sometimes many present themselves, at other times only a few. They are smeared all over with white clay, with no other covering besides their robes, with the hairy side outwards, and drawn over their heads, so that the face is covered, and they are quite wrapped up in them. In the medicine lodge they lay aside their robes. On the first day of the feast they go four times, wrapped up as before described, and dance around the ark, which stands in the centre of the open space. The Kani-Sachka remains during all this time moaning and leaning against the ark. All

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7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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[p. 92 (A)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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52 53

[p. 92 (B)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

[facing p. 95]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

with porcupine quills—over their shoulders (or in other words, over one shoulder and passing under the other), they very gracefully wear a robe from the young buffalo's back, oftentimes cut down to about half its original size, to make it handy and easy for use. Many of these are also fringed on one side with scalp-locks; and the flesh side of the skin curiously ornamented with pictured representations of the creditable events and battles of their lives. 291

Their head-dresses are of various sorts, and many of them exceedingly picturesque and handsome; generally made of war-eagles' or ravens quills and ermine. These are the most costly part of an Indian's dress in all this country, owing to the difficulty of procuring the quills and the fur. The war-eagle being the "*rara avis*," and the ermine the rarest animal that is found in the country. The tail of a war-eagle in this village, provided it is a perfect one, containing some six or eight quills, which are denominated first-rate plumes, and suitable to arrange in a head-dress, will purchase a tolerable good horse (horses, however, are much cheaper here than they are in most other countries). I have had abundant opportunities of learning the great value which these people sometimes attach to such articles of dress and ornament, as I have been purchasing a great many, which I intend to exhibit in my Gallery of Indian Paintings, that the world may examine them for themselves, and thereby be enabled to judge of the fidelity of my works, and the ingenuity of Indian manufactures. 292 435

In these purchases I have often been surprised at the prices demanded by them; and perhaps I could not recite a better instance of the kind, than one which occurred here a few days since:—One of the chiefs, whom I had painted at full length, in a beautiful costume, with head-dress of war-eagles' quills and ermine, extending quite down to his feet; and whom I was soliciting for the purchase of his dress complete, was willing to sell to me all but the head-dress; saying, that "he could not part with that, as he would never be able to get quills and ermine of so good a quality to make another like it." I agreed with him, however, for the rest of the dress, and importuned him, from day to day, for the head-dress, until he at length replied, that, if I must have it, he must have two horses for it; the bargain was instantly struck—the horses were procured of the Traders at twenty-five dollars each, and the head-dress secured for my Collection.

There is occasionally, a chief or a warrior of so extraordinary renown, that he is allowed to wear horns on his head-dress, which give to his aspect a strange and majestic effect. These are made of about a third part of the horn of a buffalo bull; the horn having been split from end to end, and a third part of it taken and shaved thin and light, and highly polished. These are attached to the top of the head-dress on each side, in the same place that they rise and stand on the head of a buffalo; rising out of a mat 292

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

292 of ermine skins and tails, which hang over the top of the head-dress, somewhat in the form that the large and profuse locks of hair hang and fall over the head of a buffalo bull. See head-dress in PLATES 14, 64, and 91, of three different tribes.

800 The same custom I have found observed amongst the Sioux,—the Crows —the Blackfeet and Assinneboins, and it is one of so striking a character as needs a few more words of observation. There is a peculiar meaning or importance (in their estimation) to this and many other curious and unaccountable appearances in the habits of Indians, upon which the world generally look as things that are absurd and ridiculous, merely because they are beyond the world's comprehension, or because we do not stop to enquire or learn their uses or meaning.

I find that the principal cause why we underrate and despise the savage, is generally because we do not understand him; and the reason why we are ignorant of him and his modes, is that we do not stop to investigate—the world have been too much in the habit of looking upon him as altogether inferior—as a beast, a brute; and unworthy of more than a passing notice. If they stop long enough to form an acquaintance, it is but to take advantage of his ignorance and credulities—to rob him of the wealth and resources of his country;—to make him drunk with whiskey, and visit him with abuses which in his ignorance he never thought of. By this method his first visitors entirely overlook and never understand the meaning of his thousand interesting and characteristic customs; and at the same time, by changing his native modes and habits of life, blot them out from the view of the enquiring world for ever.

It is from the observance of a thousand little and apparently trivial modes and tricks of Indian life, that the Indian character must be learned; and, in fact, it is just the same with us if the subject were reversed: excepting that the system of civilized life would furnish ten apparently useless and ridiculous trifles to one which is found in Indian life; and at least twenty to one which are purely nonsensical and unmeaning.

The civilized world look upon a group of Indians, in their classic dress, with their few and simple oddities, all of which have their moral or meaning, and laugh at them excessively, because they are not like ourselves—we ask, "why do the silly creatures wear such great bunches of quills on their heads?—Such loads and streaks of paint upon their bodies—and bear's grease? abominable!" and a thousand other equally silly questions, without ever stopping to think that Nature taught them to do so—and that they all have some definite importance or meaning which an
292 Indian could explain to us at once, if he were asked and felt disposed to do so—that each quill in his head stood, in the eyes of his whole tribe, as the symbol of an enemy who had fallen by his hand—that every streak of red
302 paint covered a wound which he had got in honourable combat—and that the bear's grease with which he carefully anoints his body every morning, from

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

head to foot, cleanses and purifies the body, and protects his skin from the bite of musquitoes, and at the same time preserves him from colds and coughs which are usually taken through the pores of the skin. 302

At the same time, an Indian looks among the civilized world, no doubt, with equal, if not much greater, astonishment, at our apparently, as well as *really*, ridiculous customs and fashions; but he laughs not, nor ridicules, nor questions,—for his natural good sense and good manners forbid him,—until he is reclining about the fire-side of his wigwam companions, when he vents forth his just criticisms upon the learned world, who are a rich and just theme for Indian criticism and Indian gossip. 000

An Indian will not ask a white man the reason why he does not oil his skin with bears' grease, or why he does not paint his body—or why he wears a hat on his head, or why he has buttons on the back part of his coat, where they never can be used—or why he wears whiskers, and a shirt collar up to his eyes—or why he sleeps with his head towards the fire instead of his feet—why he walks with his toes out instead of turning them in—or why it is that hundreds of white folks will flock and crowd round a table to see an Indian eat—but he will go home to his wigwam fire-side, and "make the welkin ring" with jokes and fun upon the ignorance and folly of the knowing world.

A wild Indian thrown into the civilized atmosphere will see a man occasionally moving in society, wearing a cocked hat; and another with a laced coat and gold or silver epaulettes upon his shoulders, without knowing or enquiring the meaning of them, or the objects for which they are worn. Just so a white man travels amongst a wild and untaught tribe of Indians, and sees occasionally one of them parading about their village, with a head-dress of eagles' quills and ermine, and elevated above it a pair of beautifully polished buffalo horns; and just as ignorant is he also, of their meaning or importance; and more so, for the first will admit the presumption that epaulettes and cocked hats amongst the civilized world, are made for some important purpose,—but the latter will presume that horns on an Indian's head are nothing more nor less (nor can they be in their estimation), than Indian nonsense and stupidity.

This brings us to the "corned crest" again, and if the poor Indian scans epaulettes and cocked hats, without enquiring their meaning, and explaining them to his tribe, it is no reason why I should have associated with the noble dignitaries of these western regions, with horns and ermine on their heads, and then to have introduced the subject without giving some further clue to their importance and meaning. For me, this negligence would be doubly unpardonable, as I travel, not to *trade* but to *herald* the Indian and his dying customs to posterity. 292

This custom then, which I have before observed belongs to all the north-western tribes, is one no doubt of very ancient origin, having a purely classic meaning. No one wears the head-dress surmounted with horns ex- [17]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cept the dignitaries who are very high in authority, and whose exceeding valour, worth, and power is admitted by all the nation.

He may wear them, however, who is not a *chief;* but a brave, or warrior of such remarkable character, that he is esteemed universally in the tribe, as a man whose "voice is as loud in council" as that of a chief of the first grade, and consequently his *power* as great.

This head-dress with horns is used only on certain occasions, and they are very seldom. When foreign chiefs, Indian agents, or other important personages visit a tribe; or at war parades, at the celebration of a victory, at public festivals, &c. they are worn; but on no other occasions—unless, sometimes, when a chief sees fit to lead a war-party to battle, he decorates his head with this symbol of power, to stimulate his men; and throws himself into the foremost of the battle, inviting his enemy to concentrate their shafts upon him.

The horns on these head-dresses are but loosely attached at the bottom, so that they easily fall back or forward, according as the head is inclined forward or backward; and by an ingenious motion of the head, which is so slight as to be almost imperceptible—they are made to balance to and fro, and sometimes, one backward and the other forward like a horse's ears, giving a vast deal of expression and force of character, to the appearance of the chief who is wearing them. This, reader, is a remarkable instance (like hundreds of others), for its striking similarity to *Jewish customs*, to the kerns (or keren, in Hebrew), the horns worn by the Abysinian chiefs and Hebrews, as a *symbol of power* and command; worn at great parades and celebrations of victories.

"The false prophet Zedekiah, made him horns of iron" (1 Kings xxii. 11). "Lift not your horns on high; speak not with a stiff neck" (Ps. lxxv. 5).

This last citation seems so exactly to convey to my mind the mode of raising and changing the position of the horns by a motion of the head, as I have above described, that I am irresistibly led to believe that this custom is now practiced amongst these tribes very nearly as it was amongst the Jews; and that it has been, like many other customs of which I shall speak more in future epistles, handed down and preserved with very little innovation or change from that ancient people.

The reader will see this custom exemplified in the portrait of Mah-to-toh-pa (PLATE 64). This man, although the second chief, was the only man in the nation who was allowed to wear the horns; and all, I found, looked upon him as the leader, who had the power to lead all the warriors in time of war; and that, in consequence of the extraordinary battles which he had fought.

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or recline upon their horses for an hour or two, overlooking the beautiful games where the braves and the young aspirants are contending in manly and athletic amusements;—when they are fatigued with this severe effort, they wend their way back again, lift off their fine white saddle of doe's-skin, which is wadded with buffalo's hair, turn out their pony—take a little refreshment, smoke a pipe, fan themselves to sleep, and doze away the rest of the day. 156

Whilst I have been painting, from day to day, there have been two or three of these fops continually strutting and taking their attitudes in front of my door; decked out in all their finery, without receiving other benefit or other information, than such as they could discover through the cracks and seams of my cabin. The chiefs, I observed, passed them by without notice, and of course, without inviting them in; and they seemed to figure about my door from day to day in their best dresses and best attitudes, as if in hopes that I would select them as models, for my canvass. It was natural that I should do so, for their costume and personal appearance was entirely more beautiful than anything else to be seen in the village. My plans were laid, and one day when I had got through with all of the head men, who were willing to sit to be painted, and there were two or three of the chiefs lounging in my room, I stepped to the door and tapped one of these fellows on the shoulder, who took the hint, and stepped in, well-pleased and delighted with the signal and honourable notice I had at length taken of him and his beautiful dress. Readers, you cannot imagine what was the expression of gratitude which beamed forth in this poor fellow's face, and how high his heart beat with joy and pride at the idea of my selecting him to be immortal, alongside of the chiefs and worthies whose portraits he saw arranged around the room; and by which honour he, undoubtedly, considered himself well paid for two or three weeks of regular painting, and greasing, and dressing, and standing alternately on one leg and the other at the door of my premises. 123 156

Well, I placed him before me, and a canvass on my easel, and "chalked him out" at full length. He was truly a beautiful subject for the brush, and I was filled with enthusiasm—his dress from head to foot was of the skins of the mountain-goat, and dressed so neatly, that they were almost as soft and as white as Canton crape—around the bottom and the sides it was trimmed with ermine, and porcupine quills of beautiful dyes garnished it in a hundred parts;—his hair which was long, and spread over his back and shoulders, extending nearly to the ground, was all combed back and parted on his forehead like that of a woman. He was a tall and fine figure, with ease and grace in his movements, that were well worthy of a man of better caste. In his left hand he held a beautiful pipe—and in his right hand he plied his fan, and on his wrist was still attached his whip of elk's horn, and his fly-brush, made of the buffalo's tail. There was nought about him of the terrible, and nought to shock the finest, chastest intellect. [292]

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159 ness of night broke upon the solitary stillness. His dress, which was a very splendid one, was complete in all its parts, and consisted of a shirt or tunic, leggings, moccasins, head-dress, necklace, shield, bow and quiver, lance, tobacco-sack, and pipe; robe, belt, and knife; medicine-bag, tomahawk, and war-club, or *po-ho-mo-hon*.

292 The shirt, of which I have spoken, was made of two skins of the mountain-sheep, beautifully dressed, and sewed together by seams which rested upon the arms; one skin hanging in front, upon the breast, and the other falling down upon the back; the head being passed between them, and they falling over and resting on the shoulders. Across each shoulder, and somewhat in the form of an epaulette, was a beautiful band; and down each arm from the neck to the hand was a similar one, of two inches in width (and crossing the other at right angles on the shoulder) beautifully embroidered with porcupine quills worked on the dress, and covering the seams. To the lower edge of these bands the whole way, at intervals of half an inch, were attached long locks of black hair, which he had taken with his own hand from the heads of his enemies whom he had slain in battle, and which he thus wore as a trophy, and also as an ornament to his dress. The front and back of the shirt were curiously garnished in several parts with porcupine quills and paintings of the battles he had fought, and also with representations of the victims that had fallen by his hand. The bottom of the dress was bound or hemmed with ermine skins, and tassels of ermines' tails were suspended from the arms and the shoulders.

The *Leggings*, which were made of deer skins, beautifully dressed, and fitting tight to the leg, extended from the feet to the hips, and were fastened to a belt which was passed around the waist. These, like the shirt, had a similar band, worked with porcupine quills of richest dyes, passing down the seam on the outer part of the leg, and fringed also the whole length of the leg, with the scalp-locks taken from his enemies' heads.

The *Moccasins* were of buckskin, and covered in almost every part with the beautiful embroidery of porcupines' quills.

The *Head-dress*, which was superb and truly magnificent, consisted of a crest of war-eagles' quills, gracefully falling back from the forehead over the back part of the head, and extending quite down to his feet; set the whole way in a profusion of ermine, and surmounted on the top of the head, with the horns of the buffalo, shaved thin and highly polished.

The *Necklace* was made of fifty huge claws or nails of the grizzly bear, ingeniously arranged on the skin of an otter, and worn, like the scalp-locks, as a trophy—as an evidence unquestionable, that he had contended with and overcome that desperate enemy in open combat.

411 His *Shield* was made of the hide of the buffalo's neck, and hardened with the glue that was taken from its hoofs; its boss was the skin of a pole-cat, and its edges were fringed with rows of eagles' quills and hoofs of the antelope.

His *Bow* was of bone, and as white and beautiful as ivory; over its back

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was laid, and firmly attached to it, a coating of deers' sinews, which gave it its elasticity, and of course death to all that stood inimically before it. Its string was three stranded and twisted of sinews, which many a time had twanged and sent the whizzing death to animal and to human victims. 411

The *Quiver* was made of a panther's skin and hung upon his back, charged with its deadly arrows; some were poisoned and some were not; they were feathered with hawks' and eagles' quills; some were clean and innocent, and pure, and others were stained all over, with animal and human blood that was dried upon them. Their blades or points were of flints, and some of steel; and altogether were a deadly magazine.

The *Lance* or spear was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon it, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagles' quills.

His *Tobacco-sack* was made of the skin of an otter, and tastefully garnished with quills of the porcupine; in it was carried his *k'nick-k'neck*, (the bark of the red willow, which is smoked as a substitute for tobacco), it contained also his flint and steel, and spunk for lighting———— 276

His *Pipe*, which was ingeniously carved out of the red steatite (or pipe-stone), the stem of which was three feet long and two inches wide, made from the stalk of the young ash; about half its length was wound with delicate braids of the porcupine's quills, so ingeniously wrought as to represent figures of men and animals upon it. It was also ornamented with the skins and beaks of wood-peckers' heads, and the hair of the white buffalo's tail. The lower half of the stem was painted red, and on its edges it bore the notches he had recorded for the snows (or years) of his life.

His *Robe* was made of the skin of a young buffalo bull, with the fur on one side, and the other finely and delicately dressed; with all the battles of his life emblazoned on it by his own hand. 292 ●

His *Belt*, which was of a substantial piece of buckskin, was firmly girded around his waist; and in it were worn his tomahawk and scalping-knife.

His *Medicine-bag* was the skin of a beaver, curiously ornamented with hawks' bills and ermine. It was held in his right hand, and his *po-ho-mo-hon* (or war-club) which was made of a round stone, tied up in a piece of rawhide, and attached to the end of a stick, somewhat in the form of a sling, was laid with others of his weapons at his feet. 415 411

Such was the dress of Mah-to-toh-pa when he entered my wigwam to stand for his picture; but such I have not entirely represented it in his portrait; having rejected such trappings and ornaments as interfered with the grace and simplicity of the figure. He was beautifully and extravagantly dressed; and in this he was not alone, for hundreds of others are equally elegant. In plumes, and arms, and ornaments, he is not singular; but in laurels and wreaths he stands unparalleled. His breast has been bared and scarred in defence of his country, and his brows crowned with honours 159